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 ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	HA-09	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01
	PMB-00	/037W					

-----454B00 101938Z /38

R 101703Z MAY 94
 FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4125
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 PRETORIA 006682

INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, RW, OAU, US
 SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT MEETING WITH UN SECGEN, OAU SECGEN AND
 TANZANIAN PRESIDENT ON RWANDA

1. SUMMARY: IN HIS MEETING WITH UN SECGEN BOUTROS GHALI, OAU SECGEN
 SALIM SALIM AND TANZANIAN
 PRESIDENT MWINYI, VICE PRESIDENT GORE SAID THE U.S.
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 WANTED TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY ARRANGING AN
 INTERNATIONAL FORCE TO PROTECT RWANDAN REFUGEES ON
 THE BORDERS OF TANZANIA AND BURUNDI. HE SAID THAT
 ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT RULING OUT ANY OPTION, THIS
 APPROACH WAS PREFERABLE IN OUR VIEW TO A KIGALI-
 BASED EFFORT THAT WOULD INVOLVE CONFRONTING AN ON-
 GOING CIVIL WAR. ALL THREE INTERLOCUTORS AGREED
 THAT THIS PROPOSAL REPRESENTED A POSSIBLE IMPORTANT
 EMERGENCY MEASURE AND SHOULD BE DISCUSSED FURTHER.
 THEY ALL SOUGHT TO CLARIFY THE MANDATE AND COMMAND

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
 DATE/CASE ID: 04 NOV 2011 201005065

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STRUCTURES OF SUCH AN OPERATION. ~~UNCLASSIFIED~~
THAT SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF TROOPS WOULD BE
AVAILABLE FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES IF THIS WERE A
"NORMAL" UN MISSION. THE PARTIES AGREED TO MORE
INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK. END SUMMARY

2. VICE PRESIDENT GORE MET WITH UN SECRETARY
GENERAL BOUTROS GHALI, OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM
SALIM AND TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MWINYI TO DISCUSS
POSSIBLE ACTIONS WITH REGARD TO RWANDA. THE VICE
PRESIDENT WAS ACCCOMPANIED FOR THE 30-MINUTE MEETING
BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, AMBASSADOR LYMAN, VP
CHIEF OF STAFF QUINN, VP NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER
FUERTH AND NSC AFRICA SENIOR DIRECTOR STEINBERG.
THE VICE PRESIDENT PRAISED THE EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT
MWINYI AND THE OTHERS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO GET THE
ARUSHA ACCORDS BACK ON TRACK AND ADDRESS THE
HUMANITARIAN DISASTER. HE SAID THERE WERE A NUMBER
OF PROPOSALS BEING CONSIDERED BY THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY TO RESPOND. ONE PROPOSAL THAT THE U.S.
THOUGHT HAD A POSSIBILITY OF EASING THE CRISIS WAS

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TO CREATE AN AREA OF SAFETY FOR REFUGEES ON THE
BORDERS WITH TANZANIA AND BURUNDI. HE SAID THE U.S.
WAS PREPARED TO PROVIDE SOME SUPPORT FOR SUCH AN
EFFORT TO ENSURE A PERIMETER OF SAFETY AND TO SUPPLY
HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. AT THE SAME TIME, HE NOTED, WE
HAVE TO BE RESPECTFUL OF THE DELICATE BALANCE THAT
NOW EXISTS IN BURUNDI.

3. HE SAID THAT THIS APPROACH DID NOT ADDRESS
REFUGEES ON THE UGANDA BORDER, BUT SAID THAT THE
INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US INDICATES THAT THE RISKS
BEHIND THE RPF LINES ARE MUCH LESS. HE ADDED THAT
WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE ENCLAVES ELSEWHERE IN
THE COUNTRY WHERE INDIVIDUALS ARE AT RISK, BUT ENTRY
THERE IS DIFFICULT AS LONG AS THE CIVIL WAR
CONTINUES TO RAGE.

4. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THIS WAS NOT AN
EXCLUSIVE ALTERNATIVE AND WE HAD NOT RULED OUT ANY
OPTION. HOWEVER, THIS APPROACH SEEMED TO HAVE
ADVANTAGES OVER PROPOSALS THAT FOCUS ON KIGALI,
INSOFAR AS KIGALI IS NOW AT THE EPICENTER OF THE
CIVIL WAR AND ENTRY INTO THE KIGALI AIRPORT HAD BEEN

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MADE DIFFICULT BY FACTS THAT DO UNCLASSIFIED
RELIEF ENTER. HE ADDED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY MAY BE RELUCTANT TO ENTER INTO A COMBAT
SITUATION. WHILE DISCUSSIONS OF OTHER ALTERNATIVES
GO ON, WE CAN MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY TO SAFEGUARD LIVES.

5. PRESIDENT MWINYI RESPONDED FIRST. HE SAID THAT
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TANZANIA WAS WILLING TO CONSIDER OUR APPROACH AS A
TEMPORARY EMERGENCY MEASURE. HE SAID THAT THE KEY
CHALLENGE FACING TANZANIA WAS COPING WITH THE 400-
500,000 REFUGEES WHO HAVE FLOODED INTO TANZANIA.
THE ONLY LONG-TERM SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS WAS TO RE-
ESTABLISH STABILITY AND GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES IN
RWANDA IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE FLOW OF
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

6. BOUTROS GHALI DID NOT SPECIFICALLY ADDRESS THE
VICE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD
RECEIVED A REPORT YESTERDAY FROM NEW YORK SAYING
THAT A U.N. PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN KIGALI WOULD
REQUIRE 5,500 TROOPS TO PROTECT THE AIRPORT, SECURE
ENCLAVES WITHIN THE CITY AND ENSURE THE SUPPLY OF
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THIS
WOULD HAVE TO BE A CHAPTER VI OPERATION -- THUS, HE
STRESSED THE NEED FOR A CEASEFIRE PRIOR TO TROOPS
ENGAGEMENT. HE THOUGHT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY SHOULD ALREADY FOCUS ON HOW TO SECURE THE
PEACEFUL RETURN OF REFUGEES. HE SAID HE SENT
LETTERS TO THE 30 OR SO AFRICAN COUNTRIES THAT HAVE

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PARTICIPATED IN PAST PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS TO
INQUIRE ON THE AVAILABILITY OF TROOPS FOR A RWANDAN
MISSION.

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7. THE VICE PRESIDENT STRESSED THAT WE WERE NOT
NECESSARILY RULING OUT PROCEEDING WITH ACTION IN
KIGALI. HE SAID THAT IF WE COULD ACHIEVE
INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT TO PROCEED WITH THE APPROACH
TOWARD THOSE REFUGEES AT GREATEST RISK, IT COULD
BUILD MOMENTUM FOR ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS SHOULD THEY
BECOME FEASIBLE. A/S MOOSE OUTLINED OUR PERCEPTION
OF THE POPULATION AT GREATEST RISK, INCLUDING
DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE SOUTH, REFUGEES WHO HAD NOT

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BEEN PERMITTED TO ENTER TANZANIA AND UNCLASSIFIED
THOSE IN ENCLAVES THROUGHOUT RWANDA.

8. SALIM SALIM SAID THAT AFRICAN COUNTRIES WERE ANXIOUS TO MOVE AHEAD ON A MISSION IN RWANDA, BUT WANTED TO ENSURE THAT IT WAS A "NORMAL UN MISSION." HE SAID THAT IF THIS WERE THE CASE, THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY ASSEMBLING 5500 TROOPS; IN FACT, HE HAD TALKED THAT MORNING AT MANDELA'S INAUGURATION BREAKFAST WITH LEADERS FROM THREE AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHO CONFIRMED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS. (HE LATER INFORMED A/S MOOSE THAT THESE HAD BEEN FROM NIGERIA, ZIMBABWE AND GHANA, IN ADDITION TO TANZANIA) HE SAID THE PROPOSAL PUT FORTH BY THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD TO BE VIEWED AS AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT, AND STRESSED THE NEED TO CAREFULLY STUDY THE NUMBER OF TROOPS, COMMAND STRUCTURES AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE U.N. BEFORE PROCEEDING.

9. BOUTROS GHALI WANTED TO BE CERTAIN THAT WHAT THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS DISCUSSING WAS A PEACEKEEPING MISSION, NO MERELY A HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT.

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THE LATER HE SUGGESTED, WOULD NO PROVIDE THE NEEDED PROTECTION TO THOSE AT RISK. THE VICE PRESIDENT CONFIRMED THAT THIS WAS THE CASE.

10. THE VICE PRESIDENT ASKED WHETHER THE OTHERS HAD SUFFICIENT INTEREST IN THE U.S. PROPOSAL TO INTENSIFY DISCUSSIONS. ALL THREE INTERLOCUTORS AGREED TO FURTHER TALKS. SALIM SALIM SAID THE PROPOSAL WOULD LIKELY MET NO OBJECTION FROM THE RPF OR THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCE, WHICH BOTH ACCEPTED THE INVOLVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES TO FACILITATE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. HE STRESSED AGAIN CONCERN OVER THE DELICACY OF THE BURUNDIAN SITUATION. A/S SUGGESTED THAT THESE DISCUSSIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN NEW YORK.

11. COMMENT: BOUTROS GHALI, SALIM SALIM, AND PRESIDENT MWINYI ALL SEEMED TO SINCERELY APPRECIATE THE VICE PRESIDENT'S ENGAGEMENT IN THE QUESTION OF PROVIDING RELIEF FOR RWANDA, WHICH HAS CLEARLY VEXED ALL THREE MEN. THE VICE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL WAS RECEIVED BY HIS THREE INTERLOCUTORS WITH INTEREST, BUT EACH WANTED TO HOLD HIS REACTION UNTIL THEY

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COULD CONSIDER THE DETAILS. THEY ~~ALL~~^{UNCLASSIFIED} SEEMED
THE PROPOSAL AS AN INTERIM MEASURE THAT COULD SAVE
LIVES, BUT NOT THE SINGLE SOLUTION. BOUTROS GHALI
WANTED TO ENSURE THAT THIS PROPOSAL DID NOT PRECLUDE
A KIGALI-BASED OPTION; SALIM SALIM STRESSED THE NEED
FOR THE U.N. TO TAKE UNDER ITS CONTROL WHATEVER
MISSION WAS AGREED TO; AND MWINYI WAS CLEARLY
STRAINED BY THE FLOOD OF WHAT HE CALLED UP TO A HALF
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MILLION REFUGEES ON HIS BORDER. NONETHELESS, THIS
MEETING LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS
IN NEW YORK.
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